1: Karsten--98 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
462 (1928-29)

"I may add at once that both spinning and weaving are occupations strictly limited to the male sex."

1: Karsten--99
116, 462, 774

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"In the industrial art of the Indians, just as in their agriculture, appears the strict division of labour which is characteristic of their social life and which has its ultimate foundation in their animistic views. According to this division of labour, pottery-making is the most important of the industrial tasks incumbent on the women, whereas for instance spinning and weaving, basket-making and different kinds of wood-work are occupations which, according to the idea of the Indians, are only suitable for men."

1: Karsten--103
278, 462, 791

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"To the rule that clay vessels shall be made by the women there is, as far as I know, only one exception: the cooking-pots in which the arrow-poison is boiled must be made by the poison-cook himself, who is a kind of medicine-man. The same holds true of the small pots in which the prepared arrow-poison is kept. As we shall see later on, no woman is allowed to come into any contact with the arrow-poison or the 'sacred' vessels used for its preparation."

l: Karsten--104 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
462 (1928-29)

"....although spinning and weaving are strictly male occupations, it is the women who have to dye the yarn. If we consider that for dyeing the Jibaro women use partly clay, partly certain leaves of the forest, and that women are mysteriously associated both with the clay and with certain plants, we may perhaps understand the peculiar division of labour observed by the Indians on this point."

1: Karsten--104 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
462 (1928-29)

"Another work which, according to the idea of the Jibaros, can only be done by the women is dyeing."

1: Karsten--105 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 283, 462 (1928-29)

"Spinning and weaving have been mentioned as occupations incumbent solely on the men. The yarn is spun from a sort of cotton wool cultivated by the Jibaros and called uruchi, and since the cotton tree and consequently the cotton wool obtained from it is 'a man', it follows from this peculiar view that the men have both to spin and to weave. This was the explanation I received from the Indians when I asked them the reasons for the division of labour observed by them in this respect."

1: Karsten--106 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 462 (1928-29)

"Among other industrial tasks incumbent on the men basket-making may be mentioned."

1: Karsten--107 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
462 (1928-29)

". . . . woodwork of every kind is a man's occupation."

1: Karsten--115 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 252, 462 (1928-29)

"The Indians prepare their food either by boiling it in a clay pot or roasting it at the fire. The latter method is resorted to when the Indians are in camp, hunting, fishing, or working, and it is the only way of preparing food which is considered proper for a man. Boiling the food at home is exclusively a woman's business, the only things cooked by the men at home being the tobacco water and the weisa solution (prepared from the leaves of the Ilex), the natema, and certain other magical medicines which according to their ritual can only be prepared by a man."

1: Karsten--121 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
462 (1928-29)

"The manioc-beer cannot be brewed except by the women, a custom which the Indians themselves explain by pointing out that the manioc has 'a woman's soul' (wakáni) and that therefore only a woman can properly influence it for the purpose of bringing it to fermentation. But when ready, the drink is particularly appreciated by the men, serving them as food as well as a drink."

1: Karsten--123 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
462 (1928-29)

"This idea [JKM: Jibaros believe plants are endowed with human thoughts and feelings, even special sex] also explains the division of labour which prevails among the Jibaros with regard to agriculture. Those plants which are 'men' must be sown and tended by the men, whereas those which are 'women' must be cultivated by the women. Of those fruits that form the staple food of the Indians, most are regarded as female. Hence among the Jibaros, as in fact among most Indian tribes, agriculture is essentially, although not exclusively, a duty incumbent on the female sex."

1: Karsten--124-125 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
462 (1928-29)

"As pointed out before, it is essential that the female plants be cultivated by the women, and the male plants by the men. In any kind of agriculture, however, the rough work, that is, the felling of the trees and [125] the clearing of the ground, when new plantations are made in the forest, is done by the men. On the other hand, although for instance the plantain is always planted by the men, yet the women later on take part in tending the tree and sing incantations to promote its growth. Just as the earth-deity of the Jibaros is regarded as a woman, so the women are always supposed to exert a special, mysterious influence upon the growth of the crops."

1: Karsten--126-127 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
462 (1928-29)

"The rough work, as pointed out before, is done by the men, who fell [127] the trees and clear and level the ground selected for the new plantation--extremely heavy work which takes a long time. This was especially the case in former times when the Indians had only stone axes and knives of chonta wood to use in clearing the virgin forest to make plantations. After this the work of the women begins, who further prepare the ground for the planting."

1: Karsten--131 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 241, 462 (1928-29)

"Next to the manioc, the plantain is the most important of the fruits that are especially sown or planted for a tobacco-feast. The sprouts of the plant are put into the ground by the men, namely, by the husband of the woman assisted by other male relatives, without particular ceremonies. The success of the work, however, the rapid growth and fruitfulness of the plantation, depend to a great extent on the strict observance of the rules of diet which are imposed upon the husband as well as upon his wife.

After the Jibaro has planted the plantain he, moreover, for some time after takes care not to drink guayusa (weisa) or to wash the mouth with this tonic, believing that otherwise the root of the plantain will rot away. The same would happen if he painted his face or head with genipa (sua), which therefore he avoids using."

"Among the Jibaros of the Pastaza it is also customary for the women during the whole time the men are absent on the war-path to assemble every night in one house and perform a special dance with rattles of snail's shells around the waist and chanting conjurations. This war dance of the women, which is called Ihiámbrama, is supposed to have the power of protecting their fathers, husbands, and sons against the lances and bullets of the enemy, of lulling the latter into security so that he will not apprehend the danger before it is too late, and lastly of preventing him from taking revenge (ayam-bruamáktinyu) for the defeat inflicted upon him. The dance Ihiámbrana thus has much the same magical significance as the war dance Enéma and the war song Anendrata."

2: Stirling--91 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 352, 462

"Hanging from the uprights of the men's beds are their spinning outfits and stacked on the canopy above, when not in use, are the looms, for all of the Jivaro spinning and weaving is done by the men."

2: Stirling--91 [4] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 283, 462

"The cotton when ready for spinning is packed in a case of leaves shaped like a tamale, open at the lower end. From this the Jivaro spins his cotton thread on a spindle of chonta palm to which is attached a circular bone spindle whorl (pls. 30, a; 31). As a man sits loafing or resting on the edge of his bed he usually keeps his spindle busy so as to keep on hand enough thread for weaving purposes. Looms are of the suspension type erected in a take-down rectangular frame. Shuttles are made of chonta wood (pl. 32). The men weave the women's clothes as well as their own and also make the woven headbands and belts which they use."

2: Stirling--92 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 386, 462

"The dyeing of the thread in various shades of brown is done by steeping it in a solution of vegetable dye made from achiote seeds and various kinds of bark, depending on the shade of brown desired. The dyeing is done by the women, the Indians explaining that the process takes a considerable length of time and the men do not care to be tied down by it."

2: Stirling--107[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 241, 262, 462

"Although the Jivaros receive a considerable part of their subsistence from the products of the chase and from fishing operations, they might safely be termed a truly agricultural people. Maintenance of the gardens is almost solely the duty of the women. The only portion of the labor of preparing and maintaining a garden clearing which is done by the men consists in the felling of trees in making the original clearing. The planting, care, and harvesting of the crops is all women's work.

Sweet manioc, taken in the form of nijimanche, constitutes the most important single food item. The boiled fruit of the chonta palm is likewise used to form a drink prepared in the same manner as nijimanche. To a lesser degree, maize, sweetpotatoes, sugar cane, squash, and peanuts are raised. As a general rule, a good-sized garden clearing surrounds the jivaría itself, but frequently additional fields are maintained which are a mile or more distant. Bananas, plantains, and papayas are grown extensively, but require no care other than planting."

2: Stirling--107[3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 241, 412, 482, 462

"The ground is not tilled in any fashioned. The only agricultural implements are a digging stick and a planting stick; frequently, the same implement serving both purposes. A typical digging stick is made of hard chonta palm, is about 4 feet in length, 1 1/2 inches in diameter, and is flattened at one end (pl. 23, a). The manioc is planted by taking small shoots from growing plants and placing the stems in shallow holes punched in the ground with the digging stick. The earth is then packed around the stem with the fingers and the plant requires no further care, the moist ground and the more or less continual rains doing the rest. The roots of the manioc are usually harvested when about a foot in length. If permitted to grow to a much larger size the tubers become coarse and woody. In harvesting manioc, which is one of the principal routine duties of the women, the tubers are excavated by means of the digging sticks, placed in the carrying baskets and borne by means of a head strap from the gardens to the house. This is no inconsiderable task, especially where the fields are at a distance over steep mountain trails from the jivaría (pl. 23, b)."

2: Stirling--111 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 585, 462

"Marriage takes place immediately following the purchase arrangements and the woman takes up her duties in the man's residence, where they do not differ much from the duties to which she has been accustomed at home. The work of clearing the chacras and the work of housebuilding is done by the men. The women plant and tend the crops. The men do the hunting and fishing, while the women cook and attend to the household duties. The house is divided into two halves, each of which has its own door; one for the men and one for the women. In one half are the beds of the men and the section in which they remain while in the house. In the other half the women live and tend to their household functions."

4: Up de Graff--206-207 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 356, 462

"In general the houses are clean, free from bad odours, and kept in good repair. The work is divided very [207] unevenly between the sexes, the larger share falling to the lot of the women. They do the cooking, spinning, packing, and have the care of the plantations (weeding is one of their heaviest tasks, for they have to fight against a persistent growth of thorny and poisonous plants, which harbour all manner of venomous insects). Finally, their most important duty is the daily chewing of the yuca root for giamanchi, the standard dish of every household."

4: Up de Graff--207 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 462, 286

"The men are before everything else warriors--the protectors of their womenfolk from the raids of neighbours; after that, they are the hunters; and lastly, they are the weavers. Why this last task should be by common consent allotted to them instead of to the women, remains to me a mystery. The latter do the spinning and every other kind of manual labour in the life of the tribe, and yet it is the men who not only weave their own loin-clothes, but also the material for the women's garments."

10: Anthony--159 [2] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 462, 286

"As evidence of their handiwork, I saw very creditable cotton cloth, which had been made by them from their own cotton. Strangely enough, the men, when questioned, said that they personally had woven this, the household weaving of fabrics being peculiarly a feminine province everywhere else in Ecuador."

12: Rivet--593 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 462, 439

Generally-speaking, the Jíbaro depends very little on foreign industry. It is the women who mold the various household pots with the aid of a simple wooden palette, glaze them with the juice of certain plants, and bake them in an open fire, it is they who spin and weave the clothes, while the husband makes his magnificent ornaments himself. We shall see that he does not show less skill and patience in the manufacture of his weapons and hunting implements.

18: Hermessen--442
116, 342, 462, 361

(No date) 1917

Jivaro

"Within a radius of several miles from Jamboé there were several Jîbaro houses, each standing alone in a separate clearing a little way back from the river, with a belt of forest interposed, so that they were effectually concealed from view from the water. All were exactly alike--rectangular in plan, with rounded ends, about 60 feet long by 30 feet wide, and constructed of bamboo on a framework of big poles lashed together with lianas. At either end was a door of solid wood, usually kept securely bolted on the inside. The roof was high-pitched and made of palm thatch. Several families of blood relations lived together in one house. There was no partition between the quarters of the men and those of the women, as Orton and others have noted as a detail of the dwellings of the Indians (Záparos) on the Napo and other rivers of the Oriente province of Ecuador, (18) but the rear portion was always allotted to the females."

"18. James Orton: The Andes and the Amazon, New York, 1876, p. 171."

18: Hermessen--444 [2] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 462

"The women were kept much to themselves and never ate with the men. Their particular concerns were the preparation of the food for the household and the care of the young children. They also performed all agricultural labors after the ground had been cleared. Added to their lot, again, was the making of earthenware vessels; and the results of their handiwork in this way were remarkably good, considering that they were ignorant of the use of the potter's wheel. (25) Most houses also had rude apparatus for spinning and weaving cotton, work which, however, came within the province of the men."

"25. Cf. Whiffen, op. cit., pp. 95-96."

20: Dyott--182 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 241, 462

"The felling of trees and other work connected with the making of clearings, falls on the shoulders of the men and is one of their most arduous duties. Wherever the forest growth is small and stunted, the ground is obviously of poor quality for agricultural use. On the other hand, wherever the soil is rich and deep, the trees are of great size and their removal is no easy business. The usual procedure is to cut down all the underbrush around the roots of the largest trees first, and when this has all dried out, to set fire to it. It is then easier to tackle the big fellows. The real giants are generally ringed about their base, so that they die and are more easily handled afterwards. A second burning gets rid of a lot more rubbish, but it will be some time before the ground is reasonably clear. Nothing is carted away. What won't burn is allowed to rot where it falls. So with the combined effort of time, fire and rough axes, the land eventually becomes suitable for cultivation. The circumference of many a tree is so great that it is beyond such primitive methods of handling. The trunk will therefore be cut off forty feet above the ground, or in many cases, left standing where it is, a gaunt skeleton of spreading branches."

25: Vigna --44 [5]
116, 231, 222, 462

(no date) 1945

Jivaro

The Jîbaro women breed domestic birds, hogs, little monkeys, parrots, and even wild birds, with astonishing skill. They do not keep fruit or products of the earth in their house which is always painstakingly clean, but every day they go to the garden to obtain the necessities for the day.

25: Vigna--44-45 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 226, 462

Fishing is carried out indiscriminately by men and women. With the crushed root of the barbasco they numb[45] the fish in the brooks or rivers. They are then gathered in a sort of mat which is placed a certain distance from the spot in which they have thrown the barbasco. The Jíbaros are fond of fish and fishing constitutes a social event.

26: Brüning--58 [5] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 177, 286, 462

The material used for clothing is nowadays in many instances of European make, at least in the case of women's dresses. They obtain this material, which is nothing but ordinary unbleached muslin. (tocuyo), through barter. They themselves dye it brown. I noticed that the itipe of the men was in all instances home made material. The reason for this may lie in the fact that the men do the spinning and weaving.

26: Brüning--66 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 241, 462

Vegetarian foodstuffs are no less numerous than animal foods. We have to distinguish between cultivated and wild-growing plants. The former include the yucca (máma, non-poisonous Manihot), the banana (pandáp), the ground-nut (dúse), and perhaps the sweet potato: camote, (íntši).

As a rule, the fields are in the middle of the forest. Here the man cuts the trees in order to make a clearing. Today he uses bartered steel axes, made in U.S.A. Not so long ago they are said to have used stone axes. In spite of my inquiries I have not been able to see one of these. The rest of the work--the burning of the branches (they leave the burned trunks in the fields), sowing, and harvesting--is done by the women.

The foremost cultivated plant is the yucca (máma). It is the basis for the masato (term used by the whites), the Indian beverage, called nijamántši in the Aguaruna language.

26: Brüning--70[6] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 462, 482, 285

Women as well as men (if the latter stoop to carry a load at all) carry their loads in baskets rather low on the back by means of a belt which is placed on the head.

There are two types of baskets. One kind, chiefly used by women, is an oval basket, about 40 cm. long, 30 cm. wide, and 30 cm. deep. The other basket is almost exclusively used by the men and serves as a storage place for their belongings. It is about 25 cm. wide and just as deep. It has a double wall and a leaf insulation between, so that it is waterproof. Moreover, it has a cover. These baskets are carried in the hand by means of a short handle. Both basket types are made of split bamboo.

28: Tessman--351 [6] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 241, 462

Karsten is our authority (in his Contributions, pp.1 ff.) for the following information: Indian corn, Plantain, and Guilelma palms are planted by the men; the other useful plants by the women. This division of labor is related to the Chiwaro belief that Indian corn, Plante, and Guilelma have masculine souls, while the other useful plants are endowed with feminine souls. About the Nüngi, i.e., the good demon of the earth, see Part III. Useful plants are planted in a ceremonial manner, and in this connection they use a great deal of fertility magic. According to Karsten (Contributions, p. 5) the Chiwaros also plant beans (mika).

28: Tessman--353 [8] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 283, 462

The men make the strings out of the fiber of Astrocaryum (chambira). Out of these strings the men knit bags with various techniques, but always with a bent bone-needle (see Plate 60, Fig. 1), the thicker end of which is perforated and threaded with the end of the string. An unfinished bag is shown upper right on Plate 68, a specimen for their knitting is shown on Plate 59, Fig 13. Furbags are shown at the lower right on Plate 68.

28:Tessman--353-354 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 286, 462

Only men do the spinning. The spindle of the Aguarunas is shown on Plate 59, Fig. 15. According to Rivet (L'Anthropologie XVIII, p. 366) they use a long spindle. The whorl [354] consists of stone-nut (?) and it is set up from below. Only men do the weaving, and they even weave the cloth for the women. The loom touches the ground and is in a vertical position.

28: Tessman--354 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 285, 462

Plaited mats (tšintšak-piaki) are made for the beds of the adolescents. The men plait the baskets, which, as a rule, are made in hexagonal meshes. They have carrying baskets (like the two shown upper left on Plate 68) and storage baskets which are more finely made and lined with leaves. Such a basket with cover is shown lower left on Plate 68. There are also smaller baskets of this kind. For the cruder baskets they use material coming from the Carludovica palmata (tšankĭn), for the finer baskets the material comes from the Carludovica trigona (kapi). A funnel-shaped basket done in a different technique is shown lower left on Plate 68. In this one they keep fish and carry them home.

29: Vité--15-16 (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 595, 462

The majority [KS: of the Jíbaros] are polygamous, probably because everything is so constituted as to make it unnecessary for the man, who is the head of the family, to work. The women themselves endeavor to be many in a family in order to divide the work which covers everything from the cultivation of a small garden up to participation in the hunt, in which they play the role of dogs, discovering and following the prey and frightening it with cries and noises up the spot occupied by the man, the lord of the forest. The latter then strikes it with an easy blow of his lance; he does not humble himself whatsoever to pick it up, because it must be carried on the woman's shoulders. They are very jealous [16] and very devoted to their children. They are not acquainted with our caresses and kiss.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

soul, the muisak emits power, but it is believed that the muisak's power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the tsantsa aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the muisak is believed to be transmitted to the women who, ordinarily, lack power-giving arutam souls. This power, transmitted from the muisak to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which being primarily the responsibilities of women in Jivaro society.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the *only* nonhuman creature thought to be capable of forming a muisak. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an arutam soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves so slowly, it is further believed to have lost its former arutam soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human tsantsa but generally somewhat less extensive.

THE TRUE SOUL

The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the nekás wakanl, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every living Jivaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jivaro in terms of their total native belief systems.

When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.[10]

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be food to them, it never satisfies them because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living persons. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jivaro.

/333 cont./

000 595 357 [727] practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt. Because of the highly developed sense of freedom of this nation, no one wants to be a servant; there can be no prisoners of war reduced to slavery because of the method of warfare to be discussed forthwith. Who is supposed to till the fields? Who is to perform all the tasks which do not befit the dignity of a warrior? It seems to me that a number of recognized wives are better than a swarm [462] of servant maids subject to the despotism of the master! The men fell the trees, erect the house, and prepare a piece of land for cultivation; the cultivation of the field, always lying in the forest at some distance from the dwelling, like all other work, falls to the women.

582 583 One custom in the choice of wives deserves mention. That is, a man can take a small child, even one still at its mother's breast, as a wife; he then has the advantage of being able to rear the girl according to his inclinations, but he may also be obliged to take the mother with all the other children into his house and feed them.

628 [579] [302] Up to now I have purposely avoided mentioning the hair style, since this is conditioned by a peculiarly developed sense of honor, in the service of which the man's whole life is dedicated, as a consequence of which the whole nation is facing its certain downfall. The terrible custom of blood revenge prevails here with merciless harshness. For every slain member of a family the nearest relatives, for every fallen warrior the whole tribe, are obliged to take blood revenge. Either the victor himself must be murdered, or a fellow tribesman, a relative, must be sacrificed. The injured party arms secretly for an attack; the forest is soundlessly tranversed, /334/ with all dwellings avoided, in order to be able to carry out in the darkness a sudden attack on the unprepared habitation. If possible, the house is [202] set afire and the inmates murdered. Seldom does an attack succeed so completely that there is not time for one of the inhabitants to give the alarm signal with the war drum; often even violent battles take place. Then the families living in the neighboring tambos come to support their friends, pursue the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

leak. Occasionally, such leakage does not occur significantly until the ninth year of occupancy.

If structural decay alone forces abandonment of a house, the new one is constructed sometimes only fifty to a hundred yards away. More frequently, however, poor hunting conditions necessitate the construction of the new structure two or three miles distant. Sometimes the scarcity of game requires a move to a greater distance, ten miles or more. In the not infrequent cases when a man and his family flee the neighborhood to escape assassination attempts, the new dwelling may be erected forty to eighty miles from the previous site. The death of the male head of the household is also cause for abandonment.

Houses are constructed by the men. While most of the building work technically could be done by the dwelling owner himself, he is generally helped by one or two close male relatives living nearby. The transportation and erection of the main house posts are the only tasks requiring a larger crew. For this effort, the owner invites about half a dozen male neighbors to help him.

Posts, beams, roof and walls are all lashed firmly together with strips of inner tree bark. Proceeding painstakingly, a man usually constructs a large and impressive structure capable of withstanding not only the natural elements and enemy attack, but also critical evaluation by his neighbors. The size and quality of a man's house is regarded as a serious indication of his personal "power," *kakarma*.

A family averaging only about nine persons typically occupies these rather large houses. While to a casual observer the size of the house might seem excessive in terms of everyday needs, the large floor space is deemed essential for hosting visitors, who are often guests coming to drink and dance. Since dancing is never done outdoors, where persons would

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

241 595 the garden area is in a single clearing or several, its total size is heavily influenced by the number of wives a man has to cultivate the fields. A household with one wife tends to have a garden of about 50,000 square feet, while a second spouse increases the area to about 65,000, and a third to approxi- [574] mately 75,000. The areal increases are usually not simple multiples of the number of wives because the demand for food and beer to feed visitors tends to lag behind the incre- [574] ments in additional wives. These figures vary, of course, according to the consumption demands of the household, its [554] number of visitors, and the industry of its inhabitants. A man who wishes to gain prestige may clear garden areas of larger size for each of his wives. In such a case, a household in which there are two wives may sometimes have a total garden of 100,000 square feet or more.

By measuring the yield within a restricted section of garden, the writer was able to arrive at a rough estimate of the quantity of a single harvest per 10,000 square feet of cultivated land. The results indicate that a "one wife" household with a garden of some 50,000 square feet may yield these approximate amounts of the major crops: 300 bushels of manioc; a total of 180 bushels of *papa china*, Araceae corms and sweet potato combined; 300 pounds of peanuts; and 90 stems of plantains and bananas.

241 595 • 462 [606] [412] The preparation of a garden begins with clearing the forest. The head of the household, sometimes assisted by a son or son-in-law, fells and trims the trees and clears the undergrowth with a steel axe and machete. His wife (wives) and daughters (if any) drag the slashings into piles, which are burned ten to fourteen days later, provided the weather [243] is sufficiently dry. Women do not assist in making clearings for maize, since the slashings, in the case of that crop, are left 241 476 unburned on the ground where they fall. Occasionally a man

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

may invite his neighbors to help him make a clearing, but this practice is infrequent.

All the above crops, except maize, are planted together in the same cleared plot. Manioc plants, which are the largest in the garden, are spaced slightly less than two yards apart throughout, with the smaller plants between them. A line of plantain and banana trees separates the garden from the forest.

Crop planting is done with two aboriginal tools and the machete. The former are a sharp-pointed planting stick thrust into the soil to make seed holes, and a flat-bladed palm wood digging stick used as a lever to excavate holes for planting and digging up manioc and other tubers and corms. The machete also functions as an excavating tool in planting.

Times of planting and harvesting overlap and thereby assure a constant reaping of agricultural staples. Sweet potato, *papa china*, and Araceae species are planted at any time of the year. Sweet potato and *papa china* mature in about six months, while the Araceae tubers and the carrot-like *maya* require a year. Plantain and banana are planted during a full moon at any time of the year, and are harvested twelve to fifteen months later. "White" maize and peanuts are usually sown semiannually at the blooming of the *luesi* flower, maize maturing in seven months, the other crop in five.

The most important crop, sweet manioc, is planted and harvested daily in the same act. As the women dig up the manioc tubers, they place several cuttings from the same plant's stalk in the old hole and partially cover them with earth. Manioc matures in ten to twelve months, but the actual harvesting can, if desired, be delayed as much as an additional year. This continual replanting of the manioc crop on a year-round basis, as the individual plants are dug up, is an important factor in the reliability of Jívaro crop production. Thus the Jívaro, in a real sense, "store" much of

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sonally from the fruits of the chonta palm (*Guilielma utilis*).

A rough estimate of the average daily beer consumption of the adult male is three to four gallons; of the adult female, approximately one to two gallons; and of nine- to ten-year-old children, about half a gallon. The beer must ferment for four or five days to reach its maximum alcoholic content, but this is usually intentionally done only for feasts planned in advance. On the other hand, a jar or two of beer may reach such strength simply because it has not been consumed, in which case its availability provides an occasion to invite neighbors to come by for a drinking and dancing party.

The division of labor between men and women in agricultural activities is well defined. Women do most of the laborious garden work, being exlusively responsible for planting and harvesting manioc, Araceae species, sweet potato, *papa china*, red pepper, sugar cane, onion, and pineapple. Men and women work together to plant peanuts, but only women harvest them. Men alone plant and harvest maize. They also plant plantain and the "gold" bananas, but let the women do the harvesting. Women have sole responsibility for the arduous and never ending task of weeding. They use the machete as the weeding tool, scraping the earth to cut off all weeds at ground level. This task consumes the greatest amount of their time in the garden.

An idea of the nature of the sexual division of labor and, incidentally, of the importance of manioc beer, may be provided by the following log of a daily subsistence routine.

The husband gets up from his wife's bed at about 2 A.M., goes to the men's end of the house and sits down on a stool. He washes his mouth out with water from a gourd "bottle" at his side. He calls to his wife to "bring beer." She heats up some water and mixes it with manioc beer, and brings a pot of it to him. She

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serves him and an overnight male visitor by the light of a burning copal torch. Then she returns to her end of the house and boils plantains and manioc. She then gives each person a serving bowl of this food. Her husband, meanwhile, has been spinning cotton yarn and talking quietly with the male visitor. The wife brings more beer and serves it.

She goes back to her end of the house and remains seated and resting by the fire for about half an hour. Then she returns, bringing more beer. Since the men do not immediately finish the beer, she stays crouching by the side of her husband, listening to the conversation (she has just eaten a little bit of manioc herself in the women's end of the house). She returns there, remains approximately half an hour, and then brings beer again. She goes back to her end of the house again for about another half hour, and then returns with more beer. This time she stays to chat a bit with her husband and then goes back to her area. It is now almost dawn.

The husband calls out to his wife to bring beer. She carries in a large pot of beer and serves continually from it until dawn. He then informs her that he is going hunting, and puts beer in his calabash canteen, takes some boiled manioc in a net bag, and his gun, and sets off with his wife and hunting dogs. The children stay at home.

They return home from the hunt at about 2 P.M., having killed an agouti. As soon as they arrive, the man asks his wife to bring him beer, which she does. Then he butchers the agouti and she boils it in a pot. When it is cooked, she brings the pot to the middle of the house and takes out all the meat, placing it on fresh banana leaves. She calls the men to come and eat. They arise, picking up their stools, and move to the banana leaves. Then all the children come and squat around them. The wife gives one piece of meat to each child, and a separate serving bowl of meat to the male visitor.

When all have eaten, the men get up and return with their stools to where they were sitting before. They rinse their mouths

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and hands with water from the gourd "bottle." Then the husband, getting up, calls to his wife to bring beer. Having drunk more beer, he lies down on the bed in the men's end of the house. He rests until approximately 5 P.M., while his wife goes to the garden, brings back manioc, and cooks it. He then gets up and tells his wife to bring beer. She carries in calabash bowls of beer. The husband then tells her to bring manioc and meat.

After this meal, his wife brings in a small pot of beer. The men take only two servings of beer apiece, and then converse. They talk about twenty minutes, and take new servings of beer. The wife stays at the side of her husband during these twenty minutes, sometimes participating in the conversation. After this second serving, the wife returns to her end of the house, and the men continue talking until dark. Then the wife brings in a copal torch and lights it. They talk once more and then drink beer again. Finally they finish the pot of beer and the wife returns to her end of the house with it. There she goes to bed, while the men continue their conversation. She rests about half an hour, when her husband calls her to serve beer. She brings a pot of it. The men drink and she remains with them. When they finish the beer, the wife returns to her end of the house, washes out the pot and the calabash serving bowl, and stores them for the night. Then she goes to bed. After half an hour, the men go to bed also, her husband joining her in the women's end of the house, the male visitor sleeping on the husband's daytime bed in the men's end of the house.

For the same household, this is a record of an alternative schedule, on a day when the husband decided to fell trees to make a garden clearing instead of going hunting. The routine up to dawn is similar:

Then he tells his wife of his intention to work clearing trees. She puts a pot of beer into a carrying basket and packs manioc

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and plantains around it. She supports the basket with a tumpline over the forehead, carries an empty cooking pot in her right hand, a firebrand in her left hand, and the axe under her arm. Leaving the children in the house, she sets forth down the trail with her husband, who carries only his gun and his machete. When they arrive at the spot where trees are to be felled, she fetches wood, makes a fire, and cooks manioc. Her husband starts felling trees. After about two hours he calls for beer. He drinks two or three gourd bowls full and continues working. In about another hour he calls for beer again and drinks a similar amount. He tells his wife to cook meat and continues working. Around noon he goes to where she has been cooking, and asks for beer, drinking three gourd bowls full. She serves boiled meat, putting it, with boiled manioc and roasted plantains, on fresh banana leaves. When they finish eating, he drinks beer again, and returns to his work. He fells trees for about an hour, comes back and drinks more beer.

Then they return home. When they arrive, he sits down on his stool and asks for beer. At about 2 P.M., his daughter and son-in-law, who live a few hundred yards away, drop by and join in drinking beer. They all begin to social-dance and, since there is ample beer brewed, they continue drinking and dancing all afternoon and late into the night. They drink beer continually and do not bother to prepare or eat any food. The children drink beer, too, and munch on cold boiled manioc. By about 3 A.M., everyone has fallen asleep, the daughter and son-in-law staying overnight in the house. They all sleep until early the next afternoon, when they eat.

Hunting is the chief source of protein, and is more important to the food supply than fishing or gathering, contributing an estimated 20 per cent of the diet. A great diversity of botanical and zoological species exists in this region,[2] but this variety is typically accompanied by low density of population for any particular species. This low density sometimes

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stone to crush maize for chick feed. The wooden planting and digging sticks used in agricultural work have been mentioned previously.

Vessels are made by the women from clay and gourds. All pottery is manufactured by the method of coil construction and vessels are finished by scraping. Three kinds of clay are used for different types of vessels. Carbonized bark of the *apáčaram* tree is powdered for tempering material in food bowls, while sand temper is used in drinking bowls, fermentation jars, and cooking jars. All vessels except cooking jars are coated with red achiote or black beeswax after firing. Only the interiors of large drinking bowls, the exteriors of miniature drinking bowls, and the interior necks of fermentation jars are ever decorated. Even then, such decoration is usually simple and hastily made, often consisting of unelaborated irregular zigzag and dot patterns in vegetal paint. The one apparent exception is the miniature drinking bowls, which sometimes have intricate and well-executed designs. These, however, are obtained by trade from the Canelos tribe to the north.

The fermentation jars are the largest vessels made, averaging about ten to thirteen gallons in capacity. These jars, covered with a drinking bowl or banana leaf, serve to store the fermenting manioc or chonta palm fruit beer. Next in size are the cooking jars, the largest of which are employed to boil the hallucinogenic *Banisteriopsis* for resident or visiting shamans. The other chief ceramic vessels are food-serving bowls and the two sizes of drinking bowls. Small pottery or gourd jars serve to store the curare blowgun dart poison. One special miniature pottery bowl is used by old men to brew an emetic tea from *Ilex* sp. leaves.

Large long-handled gourds hold water for cooking and

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beer making, while shorter ones store the water with which the men rinse their mouths upon arising and after eating. Other gourds are cut in half and perforated to serve as sieves in straining manioc fibers out of the beer. Tree gourds are used by men as canteens for carrying the thick beer mash when hunting or traveling far.

Three kinds of baskets are made, all by the men: a plaited openwork basket used primarily for carrying and storing food; a wickerwork type for carrying fish; and a relatively insect-proof plaited and double-walled basket with a banana leaf lining and a cover for storing featherwork and other personal effects. Matting is unknown.

Virtually every adult male possesses at least one firearm for hunting and fighting. While there are a few ancient Winchester .44 carbines obtained from the Achuara, almost all the guns are Spanish-made muzzle-loading shotguns of recent manufacture secured primarily from trading partners dwelling in the region of white contact in the Río Upano Valley.

Most of the Winchester carbines, although originally pump-action weapons, are so worn that they can function only as single-shot weapons. For fighting, they are loaded with highly valued .44 pistol cartridges obtained through native trading partners from the Achuara, who in turn secure the cartridges from other trading partners in Peru. For hunting, the cartridges are simply reloaded with black powder and shot, and the cartridge primer is replaced with the type used on muzzle-loading shotguns.

The shotguns, percussion-cap weapons usually with a 20-gauge bore, are much preferred over the Winchesters for hunting and also are much more plentiful throughout the tribe due to their steady acquisition by means of the native trading partnerships. They are loaded with black powder

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and iron shot of assorted sizes obtained from the frontier Jivaro, or loaded with the hard seeds of the *etsa* tree, or even river gravel, when iron shot cannot be obtained.

Fighting is rarely done with weapons other than firearms, but occasionally a man kills an enemy from ambush with a plain palm lance or a "shotgun" lance to demonstrate his valor. The "shotgun" lance has a tip made by chopping off the barrel of a worn-out shotgun with a machete, beating the base of the barrel into a point, and inserting a palm-wood shaft into the muzzle end of the barrel. A few old men also carry lances with iron tips obtained years ago by trade from Gualaquiza. Some of these older men also have crude wooden shields in their houses for use in the *tsantsa* feast ritual. Machetes and the less common trade knives are also sometimes employed as fighting weapons.

Men stretch and dry skins of wild boar, jaguar, ocelot, and other felines for trade. Monkey hides are used for making men's shoulder bags. Both sexes manufacture thread, string, and braided rope. Thread is made from the inner bark of the *tsaké* tree, and string from the inner bark of the *kumaí* palm. Men's shoulder bags of knotted and knotless netting are made of this inner bark string using large bone needles.

Weaving, done in almost all houses, is exclusively a man's task. Men, compared to women in Jivaro society, tend to have much more leisure time, which may help account for the fact that they do the spinning, dyeing, and weaving. When not hunting or clearing forest, a man likes to sit in his end of the house, either quietly alone or conversing with visitors. In either case, spinning and weaving allow him to occupy his hands with a pleasant craft which can be interrupted or picked up again as he desires. The textiles he makes are extremely durable and thus there is usually no urgency attached

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462 283 [286] [533] [539] to the task. A man normally takes pride in his ability as a weaver, as evidenced by this yarn-spinning song:

For me it is very easy
To spin yarn,
For I am a man-spider.
I am a man-spider.
Therefore I am adept.

My hand is like the hand
Of a spider.
Because of this
I make the spindle hum.

386 [283] [177] Men spin yarn from home-grown cotton and dye it by dipping it into vegetal solutions. Special clay is sometimes rubbed into wet yarn to produce dark shades. European dyes still are unknown. Cotton kilts (*itipi*) of a standard size and decoration are woven on a backstrap loom. Women's dresses (*tarači*) are made by sewing two such cotton kilts together.

286 294 291 The home-woven kilts and dresses are the most common type of daily dress. Both men's kilts and women's dresses are simply pieces of cloth wrapped around the body and held together by a string or belt. The men's kilt is typically held in place by a bark string, while the women's dress is fastened over the right shoulder, and a string or home-woven cotton belt keeps it closed. Both garments are made of heavily woven cloth highly resistant to tearing, and capable of enduring daily wear for about four years.

291 292 177 574 While home-woven garments constitute the daily garb, the wearing of machine-woven trade clothing or cloth is reserved for visiting and receiving visitors. At such times, men who have trade shirts put them on, and men who possess two

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man, two wives, and seven children; or a man, one wife, and three children. Often another relative, such as the widowed mother or an unmarried brother of the head of the household, also resides in the dwelling. Upon marriage of a daughter, the house's population is augmented by the son-in-law (*awe*), who will tend to remain until the birth of his wife's first child. Thereafter, according to the norm, the son-in-law and his family dwell in a new house nearby.

Sometimes matrilocal residence is avoided altogether when the suitor substitutes the gift of a shotgun to his father-in-law, instead of performing the more common bride-service. This substitution of bride-price for bride-service tends to occur in cases where the suitor feels that a period of matrilocal residence would be a liability, rather than an asset to him, e.g., when his bride's family lives in a neighborhood containing a number of enemies of the suitor's family or when he is already married and must take his bride home with him.

The man is formally head of the household and also informally seems generally to dominate his family. He is responsible for protecting his wife (wives) and children, for hunting and fishing, for clearing the forest for garden plots, and for cutting and bringing in fire logs. He also does some very limited garden chores and weaves the family's homemade garments. His wife (wives) is responsible for the overwhelming majority of the agricultural tasks, as well as for cooking and beer preparation, pottery making, and tending the children, chickens, and pigs, if any. When a son-in-law is resident in the household or living nearby, he helps his father-in-law at his various tasks, and also contributes game and firewood to his father-in-law's household. The son-in-law's wife also often helps her mother, even when resident in another neighboring house. A man and his son(s)-in-law

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585 [584] one afternoon to the house of the girl and her parents, and sleeps that night in the men's end of the house. Before dawn, he leaves the house with a blowgun and goes hunting, attempting to kill a large number of birds and monkeys in order to impress the girl's parents with his competence. When he returns, he offers the game to the girl to cook and he awaits her final decision. If she has decided to marry him, she will squat down beside the suitor when she serves the cooked food and join him in eating it. From that moment on, they are considered husband and wife and will sleep together that night.

595 579 273 261 554 The importance of wives in producing food and beer goes far beyond the subsistence requirements of the household itself. Plural wives ensure a surplus production which will make possible adequate entertainment of visitors from other households. The Jivaro place a high value on drinking beer and eating (perhaps in that order), so that one's status in a neighborhood is greatly affected by one's generosity with beer and food. No one can expect to have many friends unless he is a good host; and he cannot easily meet the requirements of good hospitality without plural wives as a labor force.

224 535 [462] A man also prefers to have plural wives so that one will be available to accompany him when he goes hunting while the other(s) tends the household and garden. The wife who goes with him not only handles the dog and acts as the intermediary with Nunui, but also assists him by carrying a machete and a basket of manioc and other provisions. Usually the preferred companion for such hunting trips is the youngest wife, who is least likely to be encumbered with children and therefore more willing to go. The wife often looks forward to hunting trips as an opportunity to have sexual intercourse in privacy, away from the rest of the household. Having sexual relations

535 224 933 [92]

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293 7. Mashing chonta palm fruits with a wooden mortar and
415 pestle preparatory to making chonta fruit beer. The metal cup
291 is the author's (Río Cusuimi, 1956-57).
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/p. 90-8/

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276 context of a four-day feast and dance, *ukí ark* ("child swal-
794 lowing"), in which approximately half a dozen such girls
852 participate together. Prior to the event the girls observe die-
778 tary restrictions for about a week, not eating the meat of any
787 mammals or birds. The ceremonies take place in and near the house of the host, a father of one of the girls. On the first day the girls dance until midafternoon. Then they are given *tsentsemi* and are taken at nightfall to palm thatch lean-to's in the adjacent forest, where they will lie down to have visions and dreams of bountiful crops, chickens, and pigs. Meanwhile, the adults dance and drink in the house until dawn. The same procedure is repeated for three additional nights.

276 The most important use of hallucinogens in child-rearing,
794 from the Jivaro point of view, is to assist a boy in seeing an
778 *arutam* at a sacred waterfall, since his life is believed to de-
787 pend upon it. This will be discussed in detail later (see pp.
[86] 135-39). Of all a boy's childhood experiences, nothing is considered to compare in importance with the experience. The power deriving from the acquired *arutam* soul is seen in Jivaro terms as an enculturating and socializing device, since its force is believed to promote almost all the valued aspects of character, including honesty, inclination to work, and intelligence, as well as to increase the actual knowledge of the child.

462 Training in work and skills conforms to the adult sexual
857 division of labor. A girl from about the age of four to six is
868 not expected to do much more than care for the baby, if any,
[854] while the mother is working in the garden or preparing beer in the house. She is instructed, among other things, to keep the infant from eating dirt and from being bitten by ants, and
[356] to rock it in its hammock. She is also supposed to sweep the house floor at least daily and throw out the accumulation of refuse.

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refuse. If there is no infant, this will probably be her only duty.

A girl approximately six years or older may have not only the above tasks, but also directly assists her mother in garden work of all kinds, including planting, weeding, and harvesting. When her mother is making pottery, she imitates her by making and firing miniature vessels and also may form and fire miniature dogs. No dolls in human form are produced, however. A boy who may be tempted to work with clay is discouraged by his father, who advises him not to touch it or else the boy's penis will one day stay soft and limp like a coil of clay.

A boy, when about four, begins to learn the art of blowgun hunting. His father gives him a small hollow reed less than a foot long and makes little darts. The child, who at that age tags along after his mother to the garden, uses it to shoot at butterflies. When he is about six, his father presents him with a real miniature blowgun and a dart quiver. Then, while his mother works in the garden, he wanders about, shooting at the hummingbirds coming to feed at the flowers of the manioc plants. Those that he kills, he brings to her to cook, which she does gravely. He is not allowed to eat them himself, it being believed that he cannot kill again if he does so. By approximately nine years of age, his skill normally has advanced to the stage that he is killing larger birds lurking in the trees around the garden. His father then takes him hunting and gives him his first formal instruction in killing game, and has him assist by carrying it home. In the house, the father encourages the development of other male skills by showing approval when the son attempts to make miniature baskets or model houses and rafts.

Post-puberty boys perform most of the tasks of their

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178 184 278 411 438 [727] been made possible by the development of trade with the Achuara, who are the main regional producers of blowguns and curare. Formerly, blowguns and curare could only be obtained in small quantities by looting Achuara houses after a successful head-hunting raid.

178 227 438 In the case of fishing, no noticeable trends have occurred except for a very minor increase in the use of hook-and-line technique due to the acquisition of some steel fish hooks by means of the inter-tribal trade network.

178 222 137 Wild food gathering has been marked by a decline in the collection of the formerly important chonta palm fruit. This decline in collection, interestingly enough, is attributed to the introduction of the steel machete, whose efficiency, compared to the stone axe, made it easy for men to chop down chonta palms simply for their edible tips, thereby reducing the number of trees available as regular sources of the hanging clusters of fruit. In other words, the introduction of steel cutting tools, by contributing to the degradation of this wild food resource, decreased rather than increased food obtained from gathering.

178 24 Species of domesticated plants remain unchanged except for two new additions, *papa china* and the onion, introduced by means of trading partners from the frontier Jívaro, who in turn had adopted them from the missionaries and Ecuadorian settlers. None of the aboriginal native crops has been abandoned within the memory of the informants.

[462] The sexual division of labor in agricultural activities is unchanged except for the relatively inconsequential harvesting of the small plantings of red pepper and sugar cane. Formerly, both sexes engaged in harvesting these, whereas now only women do. The decline of male interest in harvesting sugar cane seems to be due to the fact that since the adoption of firearms, blowguns and poisoned darts are rarely used any

178 278 411 824